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/Information on social values, honor, prestige, etc., have been marked for category 577./

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[p. 19]

II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals.

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16.

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γιουσάμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[1] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

[1] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

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The family and the flock are both forms divinely confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[2] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[2] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal cousin as his most trusted friend.

When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters simply because they are males and not because they are specifically agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[901] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

● 181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

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181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal strait-jackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

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114 I first caught a glimpse of them in December,
[101] when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw them again in early spring four months later near
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[669] the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their
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[361] carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After light-hearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

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626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692 31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12.
Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

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627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
671 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

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181 671 182 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential conflicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and /one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

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627 686 689 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

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33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

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It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

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Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

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Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
597 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

597 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(171) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
(182) it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(848) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
597 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
362 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

(684) If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

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577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

* * * *

577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

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577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. (626) Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

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law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

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PART THREE

/245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

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123 124 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 ### FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 842 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

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771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

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771 157 798 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [804] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above 771 157 [182] all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 796 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ′ f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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829 562 [596] [474] [621] in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of the group and its good functioning.

829 On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents offers a solid and permanent support.

[811] [562] From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational, reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

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181 811 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even [177] [361] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migrations and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 811 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

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182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. 182 291 261 181 Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

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in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among women).

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691 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
671 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
(626) apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
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599 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
181 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition, family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

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121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

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000 182 561 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

182 596 114 197

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

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182 621 476 [181]

--Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism. They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

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--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

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121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean 0771 culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

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121 182 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings that might alter the picture.

121 182 233 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 181 191 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

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121 181 171 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 171 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

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171 233 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it, even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Cf. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ: Αγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 233 191 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas" and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 181 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the

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171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and
182 ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

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177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

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/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the [182] [626] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and intense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their [829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

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121 They show that the latitude offered the Sarakatsani to give free rein
181 to their originality, namely to their temperament, their talents, their imagination, is not very great. The latitude is provided in advance and obeys predictable models. This formula does not mean that our herders are automatons whose strings are pulled by their society and their culture, but merely that they are not supposed to go beyond certain norms. The fact that they are honored when they distinguish themselves in accomplishing certain tasks perfectly shows that Sarakatsani society knows how to appreciate talent and originality.
121 However, it does not permit the non-observance of the "prescribed."
181
626 This means that the Sarakatsani become "typical" individuals. (2)

2. See M. Mead's distinction between "typical" and "atypical": Ibid., p. 268.

Those who are atypical are not tolerated. They are, in fact threatened with social banishment. Sarakatsani social molding is
121 therefore total. And, to express this statement on another level, we
181 might say that among them traditional cultural works /411/ flow into their psyches; in other words, their total social and psychological phenomena overlap almost completely. (3)

3. Inspired by G. Gurvitch.

Nevertheless, Sarakatsani society is interested not only in the molding of its members, but also in their destiny. It provides for them socially, it puts at their disposal its organization and its means. All the solutions of their vital problems that it has adopted converge toward "a primitive, socio-economic planning," according to a formula by Radin, (4)

4. See P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, pp. 99 and 201.

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121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 181 156 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such. The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

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181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

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181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

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178 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel
178 about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.